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Attic Inscriptions in UK Collections *Leeds City Museum*

Peter Liddel and Polly Low

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PREFACE

The Leeds City Museum contains only one inscription of (relatively) certain Attic provenance, but the collection is nevertheless an important one, which sheds interesting light on the complex history of classical collecting in the United Kingdom.

We are very grateful to Katherine Baxter, Curator of Archaeology at the Leeds Museum, for allowing us access to the collections of the Museum, and for her generous support for all aspects of our project. We are also indebted to the archivists at the Special Collections of the Brotherton Library, Leeds University, and at the Calderdale Collections of the West Yorkshire Archive Service. It is again a pleasure to record our thanks to Stephen Lambert, Robert Pitt, S. Douglas Olson, P. J. Rhodes and the anonymous reader for AIUK for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

ABBREVIATIONS

In addition to the abbreviations listed at <https://www.atticinscriptions.com/browse/bysource/> the following abbreviations are used in this volume:

Athenian Onomasticon: S. Byrne, *Athenian Onomasticon*. Online: <http://www.seangb.org/> [accessed: 03/04/19]

Clairmont *CAT*: C. W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 8 vols. (1993, suppl. vol. 1995)

CIG: A. Boeckh ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (I [including Attica] 1828, II 1843, III [with J. Franz] 1853, IV Indices [H. Roehl] 1877)

Conze: A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 4 vols (1890-1922)

Couilloud: M.-T. Couilloud, *Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée* (1974)

Crossley: E. W. Crossley, *Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, 1830-1930. Centenary Handbook* (1930)

Davies: G. Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art", *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, 1985, 627-40

Dinsmoor: W. B. Dinsmoor, *Observations on the Hephaisteion* (*Hesperia* Supplement 5) (1941)

Forty-Fourth Report: The Forty-Fourth Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (1864)

Hicks: E. L. Hicks, "The Collection of Ancient Marbles at Leeds", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11, 1890, 255-70

Hildebrandt: F. Hildebrandt, *Die attischen Namenstelen. Untersuchungen zu Stelen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr* (2006)

IG III: W. Dittenberger ed., *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae* (1878, 1882)

Kitson Clark: E. Kitson Clark, *The History of 100 Years of Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* (1924)

Kokula: G. Kokula, *Marmorlütrophoren* (1984)

Koumanoudes: S. Koumanoudes, Ἀττικῆς Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἐπιτύμβιοι (1871)

Marshall: J. Marshall, "Observations on Certain Greek Inscriptions in the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society", *The Fifty-Ninth Report of the Council of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 1879, 13-19

Michaelis: A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, translated from the German by C. A. M. Fennell (1882)

Miller: W. Miller, *The English in Athens before 1821. A Lecture Delivered Before the Anglo-Hellenic League in Athens, February 10, 1926* (1926)

Möbius: H. Möbius, *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*. 2nd edition (1968)

ODNB: Gott, Benjamin: R. Wilson, "Gott, Benjamin (1762–1840), Cloth Merchant and Manufacturer", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2009)

Porrit: A. Porrit, "The Rawson Family", *Halifax Antiquarian Society Transactions*, 1966, 27-52

Posamentir: R. Posamentir, *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit* (2006)

Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*: E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik, auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik*. 2nd edition, 4 vols. (1950-94)

Sawtell: C. L. Sawtell, "Non-Citizen Commemoration in Fifth and Fourth Century BC Attica", PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2018

Threatte: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (1980-96)

AN ATTIC INSCRIPTION IN THE LEEDS CITY MUSEUM

The city of Leeds in West Yorkshire has a long museum tradition, stretching back to the *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* established at the end of the seventeenth century.¹ What is now the Leeds City Museum was originally founded as the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in 1819 with the support of local scientists, engineers, merchants and bankers. Egyptological and Classical artefacts were among the museum's earliest objects.² However, it was not until 1863-4 that Greek inscriptions became part of its collection.

The inscriptions formed part of a collection of antiquities assembled by two Yorkshiremen, Benjamin Gott of Leeds and a "Mr Rawson" of Halifax, both members of prominent Yorkshire families.³ The two friends embarked on a Grand Tour in around 1815, reaching Athens (by way of Smyrna and the Cyclades) in the summer of 1817. Gott died at Piraeus in June 1817, aged 24.⁴ Rawson brought the stones to Halifax, where they were kept at Hope Hall, the house of his brother Christopher Rawson.⁵ From there, transcriptions of the inscriptions were sent to Boeckh for publication in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.⁶ In the mid-1840s, for reasons which are now unclear, the marbles were sold to William Gott (Benjamin Gott's younger brother).⁷ When William Gott died in 1863 his son, John Gott, presented the collection to the museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society.⁸

¹ Brears, "Thoresby".

² For the early collections, and other activities, of the Society, see Kitson Clark.

³ Benjamin Gott (1793-1817) was the second son of Benjamin Gott (1762-1840), a wealthy cloth-manufacturer and notable Leeds philanthropist. "Mr Rawson" (Hicks, 255) is almost certainly Jeremiah Rawson (1787-1839), a member of a well-known Halifax family, who is reported to have visited Greece and collected "Greek marble figures and other pieces of sculpture" (Porrit, 32, 35).

⁴ The *Petty Journal* of Jeremiah's brother, Christopher Rawson (now preserved at the Calderdale Archives in Halifax: WYC: 1525/6/5/1), records that Gott died on 30th June at Piraeus. He was initially buried in the Hephaisteion, which had become a favoured burial site for English (and other Protestant) travellers who died in Athens; also buried there was Elizabeth Cumming, companion to Lady Ruthven (whose epigraphic collection will be discussed in *AIUK* 10 (National Gallery, Scotland). For the subsequent history of Gott's burial and monument (a replica of which now stands in the churchyard of St. Paul's Anglican Church, Athens), see Dinsmoor, 26-27; a monument to Gott (including a depiction of the Hephaisteion) was also set up in St. Bartholomew's Church, Armley, Leeds.

⁵ Hicks, 255 (though his account seems to conflate the two Rawson brothers); Porrit, 32. Miller, 17, reports that the marbles were ship-wrecked on their way to Yorkshire, but gives no source for this story, which is not recorded by Hicks.

⁶ See, e.g., *CIG* I Add. 937b.

⁷ Hicks, 255. It seems likely that other marbles collected by Jeremiah Rawson were donated to the Museum of the Halifax Literary and Philosophical Society, which opened on 1st January 1831: the Museum is reported to have included Greek and Roman antiquities, donated by Christopher Rawson, described as "remains of ancient Greek sculpture from Delos" (Crossley, 8). These items might now be in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, although we have not been able to confirm this.

⁸ *Forty-Fourth Report*, 11-12, 28. The Gott family had a long-standing association with the Society: Benjamin Gott Sr. was one of its founding members (*ODNB*: Gott, Benjamin), and William Gott had already in 1862 loaned items from his private art collection to the Society's recently-extended Museum (Brotherton Library, Leeds: MS 194/6/159). Kitson Clark, in his account of the foundation of the Philosophical and Literary society, credits Benjamin Gott Sr. with obtaining "the Greek marbles which form one of the most valuable collections in the Museum" (13), but it seems likely that he has confused Gott Sr. with his son.

The provenance of the Greek inscriptions at Leeds is, therefore, rather uncertain, especially because no detailed account of the circumstances of their original acquisition survives. It is not even clear which parts of Athens or Attica Gott and Rawson explored before Gott's death at Piraeus.⁹ Boeckh's information about the inscriptions and their origins was received at third hand (he was working from material sent to him by H. J. Rose,¹⁰ who in turn was relying on transcriptions provided by an anonymous "friend" in Halifax (*CIG* I p. 919, Add. 937b)). Hicks' brief account of the collection's origins relies on the family history related to him by John Gott. The collection was not mentioned in Michaelis' *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* (1882), but some of the inscriptions were published again by Marshall, of the Yorkshire College (later Leeds University), in 1879, and then the whole collection by Hicks (with assistance from Conze) in 1890.

Among the marbles reported in Hicks' 1890 article, there are seven Greek inscriptions: *IG* II² 9186, a funerary stele; *CIG* II 2312 (= Couilloud, Addenda, p. 377), a marble altar; *ID* 1578, an inscribed statue-base; *ID* 2008, an inscribed statue-base; *IG* XI 4, 1065, the arbitration of a dispute between Parians and Naxians; *IG* XI 4, 1146, a marble altar; and the inscription we discuss here, *IG* II² 11132, a funerary stele. We follow Hicks' identification of *IG* II² 11132 as Attic on the grounds of its sculptural style (Hicks, 267); the others are likely to have derived from the Cyclades. (For discussion of *IG* II² 9186, see below, Appendix.)

⁹ The Gott Family Archives, now held in the Special Collections of Leeds University, contain only the first volume of Benjamin Gott's travel journal (detailing his journey from England, via France and Belgium, to Germany: MS 194/5/5); the last extant letter from Benjamin Gott was sent from Rome in early 1817 (MS 194/5/4). If Rawson made any record of his travels, it seems not to have survived.

¹⁰ "Rosius" in *CIG* (cf. *CIG* I p. xi). Rose was also the editor of *Inscriptiones graecae vetustissimae* (1825).

1 FUNERARY MONUMENT OF DEMOCHARES AND HEGELOCHOS. LEEDM.D.1967.1237. Findspot unknown, but almost certainly from Attica. Grey-white marble stele with elaborate acroterion of three palmettes. The lower part is broken all round, but otherwise the stone is undamaged. On the front is a moulding of a loutrophoros in low relief, which is inscribed with the names of two men. There is some staining, especially around the relief of the loutrophoros, but no traces of paint were visible at autopsy. A narrow band (ca. 23-32 mm wide) between the acroterion and the relief appears to have been re-worked with a claw-tooth chisel. H. 1.10, w. 0.395-0.413, th. 0.0594-0.0767. The letters, though not untidily cut (by the standards of Attic funerary monuments) are somewhat inconsistent in shape and form, perhaps as a result of the difficulty of adding letters to a convex surface. The letter forms (including the sigmas and mu with splayed outer strokes) are consistent with the early-to-mid fourth-century date indicated by the relief sculpture. L. h. 0.0077 (*omicron*)-0.0117 (*eta*).

Eds. *CIG* I p. 919, Add. 937b (from a transcription sent by H. J. Rose, made by a friend of his); (Koumanoudes 2760; *IG* III 3084); Conze II 674 (ph.); Marshall, 18 no. 4; Hicks, 266-68 no. 7 (drawing); (*IG* II² 11132); Clairmont, *CAT* 2.283 (ph.).

Cf. *Forty-Fourth Report*, 11-12, 28. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. On display: Ancient Worlds Gallery. *Figs.* 1, 2, 3.

ca. 400-350 BC Δημοχάρης. Ἦγ- *vacat* [0.0276] -ήλοχος.

Ἦγ(έ)λοχος Hicks.

Demochares. Hegelochos.

Inscribed funerary monuments are the most numerous form of Attic inscription in the period from the end of the fifth century BC until Roman times.¹¹ This form of monument, in which a stele is decorated with a loutrophoros (a vessel which conventionally carried water for nuptial ceremonies), sculpted in relief, is relatively well-attested in the Classical period;¹² in effect, as Clairmont notes (*CAT* Introductory Vol., 44-45), it is a “tombstone on a tombstone”, since a free-standing loutrophoros could itself be used as a funerary marker.¹³ The loutrophoros motif is an indication that the deceased was unmarried when he or she died (see Dem. 44.18). In terms of the shape and style of the vessel (with long, curved, handles), the most strikingly similar examples are Kokula L 16 (= *IG* II² 10909), L 17 (= *IG* II² 11388), and L 22 (no inscription).

Hicks and Conze took the view that the stele would originally have been elaborately painted: this, they hypothesised, would have included painted decoration of the handles of the loutrophoros, as well as “a group of at least two figures on the body of the vase” (Hicks, 267). The original presence of painted figures would explain an otherwise puzzling feature of the stele, namely the apparent absence of any figurative

¹¹ For an overview of Athenian forms of funerary commemoration, see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), pp. 31-33.

¹² Compare, for example, [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), no. 5 and BM 1915,0415.1 (*CAT* 2.417b; forthcoming in *AIUK* 4 (British Museum, Funerary)); for further discussion, see Kokula, 37-60 (with examples at L 1-50; see also *Agora* XXXV nos. 210-12).

¹³ For discussion of the nature and significance of the loutrophoros, see [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), no. 5. Many other examples are collected in Kokula; see also *Agora* XXXV nos. 197-209.

representation on the loutrophoros.¹⁴ In Hicks' and Conze's reconstruction, the inscribed names would have been placed above the heads of the two painted figures: Demochares on the left, and Hegelochos on the right (standing, so that the inscribed name labelled his head). The fact that the inscription is interrupted by the putative painting indicates that the latter was "completed, or at least sketched in" (Hicks, 267) before the inscription was added.¹⁵ Hicks and Conze also suggested that Demochares might have been seated, and that the two figures would perhaps have been shaking hands. Such a scene is commonplace in Attic funerary sculpture,¹⁶ and is also attested in painted funerary decoration (e.g. Clairmont, *CAT* 2.053 = Posamentir no. 4 (uninscribed); Clairmont, *CAT* 337 = Posamentir no. 65 (uninscribed)).

Hicks' and Conze's hypothesis has been generally accepted by subsequent commentators on this monument, and more recent work on Attic painted tombstones has both confirmed the general argument that painted decoration is likely to have been used on this sort of stele, and provided support for the proposed reconstruction of the interaction between inscribed text and painted decoration: compare *IG* II² 7180 (= Posamentir no. 66), a relief-sculpted loutrophoros decorated with single painted figure, with an inscribed name above; *IG* II² 12413 (= Posamentir no. 53), a relief-sculpted loutrophoros decorated with two standing painted figures, shaking hands, with inscribed names above. No traces of paint were visible at our autopsy of the Leeds stele, though Clairmont claimed to have observed some remains.

The apparent reworking of the surface of the stele above the top of the loutrophoros perhaps represents an (aborted?) attempt to add a decorative feature (e.g. birds, cf. BM 1915,0415.1 (*CAT* 2.417b; forthcoming in *AIUK* 4 (British Museum)) or an inscription (cf. Kokula L 17, pl. 4 no. 2 = *IG* II² 11388), sculpted or in paint.

Nothing certain can be said about the two men commemorated on this monument, although more information about their family and deme may originally have been supplied elsewhere in the funerary enclosure (*peribolos*) in which it is likely that the monument originally stood.¹⁷ As noted above, the use of the loutrophoros form probably indicates that one or both men died unmarried; that they are commemorated on the same stone suggests that they had some close connection, but the nature of their relationship remains obscure. Demochares is a very common name in Attica. Hegelochos with the first element ΗΓΗ is unattested; as Schwyzler points out (*Griechische Grammatik*, 1.443 n. 10) at least before a consonant, we would expect ΗΓΕ; and Ἡγέλοχος is indeed well-attested in Attica: the *Athenian Onomasticon* lists twelve individuals with this name. Hicks thought that our spelling with an eta was due to a letter-cutter's error. Confusion of epsilon and eta

¹⁴ The majority of loutrophoros-stelai bear sculptured figures on the vessel or are assumed to have been painted with figures; see, for instance Kokula, 15, n. 10, with plates 1 and 2, a mid fifth-century loutrophoros-stele from Rhamnous (Athens, NM 4519) which has no figurative relief but was originally painted.

¹⁵ For another example of an inscribed name on a loutrophoros-stele interrupted by a painted area (probably that of a seated figure), see Posamentir 36 = *IG* II² 12470. For examples of inscribed names interrupted by sculpted figures on loutrophoros-stelai, see Kokula L 9 = *IG* II² 5261 = *AIUK* 4 (British Museum, Funerary), forthcoming; Kokula L 60 = *IG* II² 9143.

¹⁶ Davies, 628-30; see also Lambert's discussion at *AIUK* 3 (Fitzwilliam), p. 33, and Liddel and Low's discussion in *AIUK* 5 (Lyne Park), n. 38.

¹⁷ On the relationship between funerary stelai and family burial enclosures, see Lambert, [AIUK 3 \(Fitzwilliam\)](#), p. 32.

is attested on other Attic funerary monuments (cf. Threatte I, 159-64), and might be accounted for in this case by the gap in the name.

Kirchner (in *IG II*²) proposed a date of 390-365 BC for this inscription, following the argument of Möbius (88), whose dating was based on the style of the stele's acroterion. Hildebrandt (75) rightly cautions against placing too much weight on datings based solely on this sort of stylistic analysis, but a date somewhere in the period 400-350 BC is consistent with the chronological categories which he proposes. Our stele is comparable with those in Hildebrandt's Group E, which, he suggests (44-45), belong largely to the first half of the fourth century. An early-to-mid fourth-century date is also compatible with the style of lettering in the inscription.

Nothing is known of the findspot of the stele, nor of the monument's original location. The one place in Attica which it is certain that Gott and Rawson visited is Piraeus, and Piraeus is indeed attested as a findspot for monuments of a similar form (cf., from Kokula's catalogue: L 1, 4, 31, 36, 41, 43). It is therefore not impossible that this stele originally stood somewhere in Piraeus, but this can be no more than an educated guess.



Fig. 1. 1 This image © Leeds Museums & Galleries. All rights reserved.

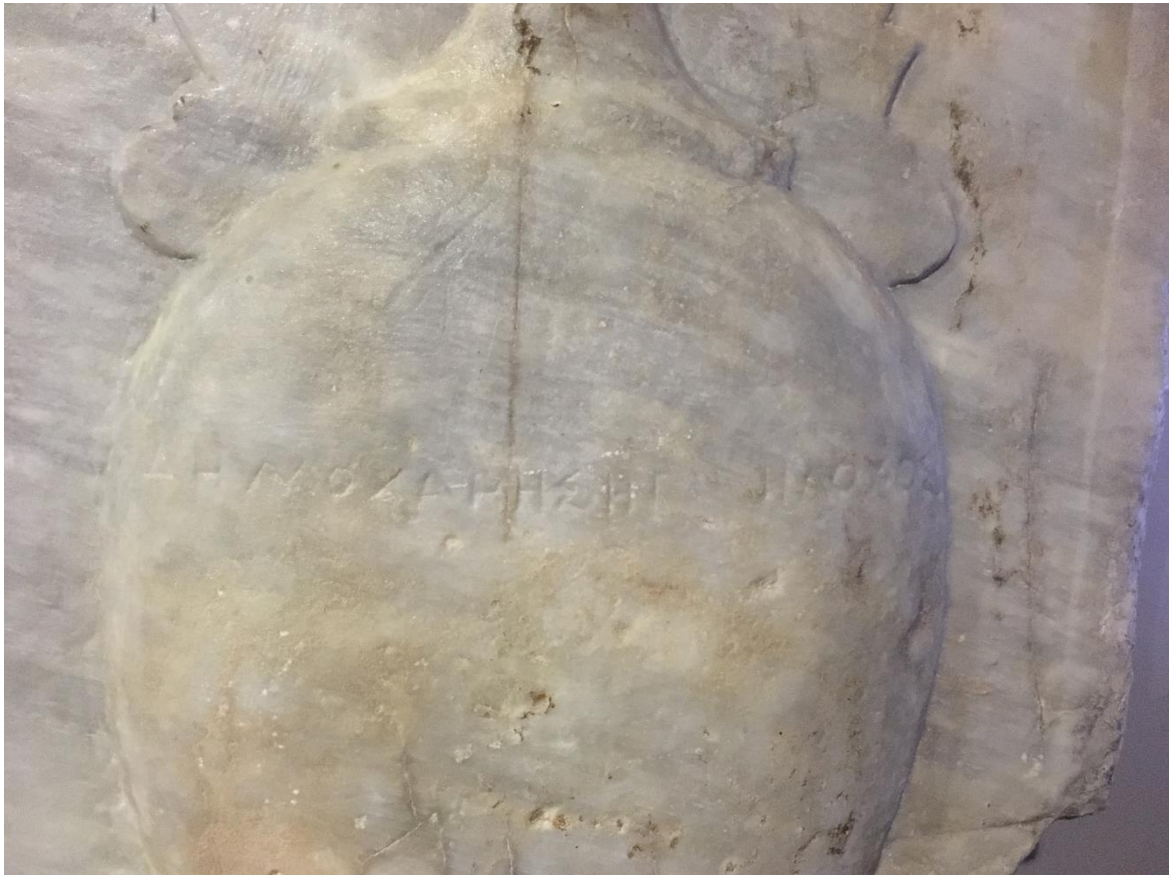


Fig. 2. 1, detail. This image © Leeds Museums & Galleries. All rights reserved.

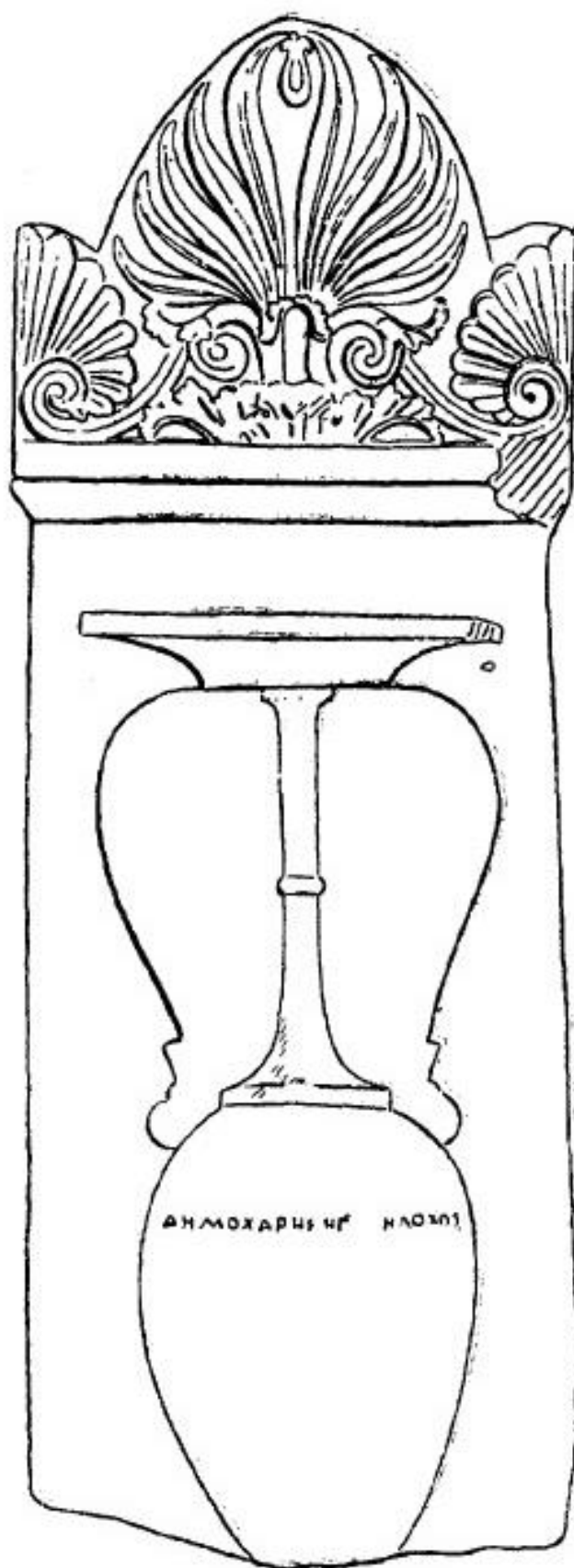


Fig. 3. 1, after Hicks.

APPENDIX. FUNERARY MONUMENT FOR AGRON AND AGRON. LEEDM.D.1967.1235. White marble stele, decorated with a relief scene showing three figures: a seated male figure on the left, shaking hands with a standing male figure on the right; behind the standing male, at the far right of the scene, is a female figure. The relief scene is enclosed in an archway, with the inscription beneath. H. 0.78, w. 0.34-0.40.

Eds. *CIG* I p. 918, Add. 864b (from transcript sent by Rose, made by a friend of his, cf. n. 10 above); (Koumanoudes 1942; *IG* III 2550; *IG* II² 9186); Hicks, 264-65 no. 5; (Couilloud 336 *bis*).

Cf. *Forty-Fourth Report*, 11-12, 28. Autopsy Liddel and Low 2019. Fig. 4.

| | | | |
|------------|---------------|---|---------------|
| ca. 100 BC | <i>col. 1</i> | | <i>col. 2</i> |
| | Ἄγρων | 5 | Ἄγρων |
| | Λαοδικεῦ | | Ἄγρωνος |
| | χρηστὲ | | Λαοδικεῦ |
| | χαῖρε. | | χρηστὲ |
| | | | χαῖρε. |

1 and 5 Hicks (Ἄτρων Boeckh, [Π]άτρων Dittenberger) || 6 Hicks (Ἄτρων[ος] Boeckh, [Π]άτρωνος Dittenberger).

Agron of Laodikeia: farewell, worthy man! Agron son of Agron of Laodikeia: farewell, worthy man!

The epitaph *IG* II² 9186, for a father and son, has regularly been included in collections of Athenian inscriptions. Boeckh recorded it as Athenian in *CIG* (864b, Addenda, p. 918), presumably on the basis of the information sent to him by Rose (or by Rose's Halifax correspondent). His classification was followed by subsequent editors (*IG* III 2550, Koumanoudes 1942, *IG* II² 9186), all of whom were working from Boeckh's text rather than autopsy. Hicks, however, pointed out that the form of wording (χρηστὲ χαῖρε) and the style of the relief indicate that this inscription, like several others in the collection, derives from Delos or Rheneia (Hicks, 265);¹⁸ and Couilloud, p. 377, confirmed that this provenance is compatible with the ethnic of Laodikeia. The inscription should therefore be removed from the bibliography and prosopography relating to Attica (cf. *PAA* 769083, 769084, 769085, s.v. Patron Laodikeus; *Athenian Onomasticon* s.v. Patron, Laodikeia).

In addition, we note that the text printed in *IG* is incorrect in its interpretation of the names of the deceased. We give a corrected text above, following Hicks in reading Ἄγρων in lines 1 and 5 and Ἄγρωνος in line 6. This is clearly preferable to the text printed in *IG*, which has [Π]άτρων and [Π]άτρωνος.

¹⁸ We should note that the presence of the χρηστὲ χαῖρε formula alone does not (in spite of Hicks' reservations) rule out an Attic provenance, since it is attested on ca. 19 Athenian funerary inscriptions, primarily of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The formula is particularly associated with the commemoration of metics and non-Athenians (cf. Pitt, *AIUK* 4 (British Museum, Funerary); Sawtell, 73-74). Nonetheless, the formula is much more common on monuments from Delos and Rheneia (*PHI* lists 178 examples).



Fig. 4. Appendix. This image © Leeds Museums & Galleries. All rights reserved.